

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 08774 140625Z

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ACTION SS-30

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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6719

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

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S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 8774

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA EIGHT)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU

SUBJECT: BHUTTO MEDIATION EFFORTS RE CYPRUS

1. SHAHI YESTERDAY BROUGHT ME UP-TO-DATE ON ABOVE SUBJECT. HE SAID AFTER OUR LAST TALK (ISLAMABAD 8352) VISITING PAK AMBASSADOR TO ATHENS HAD RELAYED HIS TALK WITH KARAMANLIS AND BHUTTO HAD CONTACTED AKARA FROM KARACHI ON THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 1. THE PROPOSAL BHUTTO PUT TO THE TURKS WAS AS FOLLOWS: (A) TURKS WOULD WITHDRAW UP TO PYROI AND FROM THE GREEK WATERFRONT PORTION OF FAMAGUSTA; (B) GREEK CYPRIOTS, WHO HAVE MOVED FROM AREAS UNDER CONTROL OF TURKISH FORCES, WOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES; (C) TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN GREEK CONTROLLED AREAS WOULD BE ALLOWED FREEDOM OF TRANSIT; AND (D) THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD ANNOUNCE THAT IT WOULD ACCEPT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ON A "FEDERAL BASIS."

2. THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY REPLIED AS FOLLOWS: (A) TURKEY WOULD AGREE TO WITHDRAW TO THE LINE MENTIONED IN PARA 1 (A) ABOVE, BUT CANNOT COMMIT ITSELF IN ADVANCE TO ANY FURTHER WITHDRAWAL WHICH WOULD DEPEND UPON THE RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS; (B) RETURN OF GREEK MALES TO REGIONS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 08774 140625Z

UNDER TURKISH CONTROL APPROVED IF FINAL AGREEMENT COULD BE

REACHED ON A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT; (C) MOVEMENT OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO REGIONS UNDER GREEK CONTROL TO BE MUTUALLY AGREED UPON AS PART OF FINAL SOLUTION; AND (D) THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD AGREE TO ANNOUNCE THAT IT ACCEPTS IN PRINCIPLE THAT SOLUTION SHOULD BE ON A "FEDERAL BASIS", WITH ANNOUNCEMENT TO BE MADE JUST BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS START, OR DURING NEGOTIATIONS.

3. REACTION FROM KARAMANLIS WAS RECEIVED ON SEPTEMBER 2. HE WARMLY THANKED BHUTTO FOR HIS EFFORTS, SAYING THAT TURKISH POSITION REPRESENTED CERTAIN PROGRESS BUT HE DID NOT THINK IT WENT FAR ENOUGH FOR HIM TO AGREE FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, HE SAID HE WANTED TIME TO GET IN TOUCH WITH GREEK CYPRIOTS ON THE MATTER AND WITH HIS CABINET. HE SAID HE HOPED BHUTTO WOULD BE WILLING TO RESUME

EFFORTS IF THAT APPEARED HELPFUL AFTER BHUTTO WAS FREE OF HIS THEN CURRENT DOMESTIC COMMITMENTS (BANDARANAIKE VISIT, ETC.).

4. SHAHI SAID NOTHING HAPPENED FOR SOME TIME AFTER THIS AND THEY HAD ASKED THEIR AMBASSADOR TO SEE KARAMANLIS ON SEPTEMBER 11. KARAMANLIS HAD REPEATED THAT THE TURK POSITION WAS STILL NOT SATISFACTORY ALTHOUGH REPRESENTED SOME PROGRESS. HE THOUGHT THE TURKS SHOULD SHOW MORE FLEXIBILITY TO GET DIRECT DIALOGUE REOPENED. HE ASKED IF BHUTTO FELT HE WAS SURE ENOUGH OF TURKISH THINKING TO ASSURE HIM THAT THE TURKS WERE REALLY SINCERE IN WANTING A JUST AND HONORABLE SETTLEMENT. IF THE ANSWER WAS AFFIRMATIVE THEN PERHAPS VISIT BY BHUTTO TO BOTH CAPITALS WOULD MAKE CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION AND HE WOULD BE WELCOMED IN ATHENS AFTER A STOPOVER IN ANKARA.

5. BHUTTO HAD NEARLY DECIDED TO MAKE THE TRIP ON SEPTEMBER 11. HE WAS PREPARING TO SEND WORK TO KARAMANLIS THAT HE WELCOMED HIS CONSTRUCTIVE REACTION. IT WOULD HAVE QUOTED BHUTTO AS SAYING THAT HE IS PROFOUNDLY CONVINCED THAT THE TURKISH POSITION WAS ONE OF DESIRING A SOLUTION BASED UPON PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE, AND THAT HE THOUGHT TURK PROPOSALS WERE A SINCERE ATTEMPT TO ENABLE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 08774 140625Z

KARAMANLIS TO ENTER INTO A DIALOGUE WITHOUT LOSS OF HONOR.

6. IN THIS PROCESS THE CABLED REPORT OF THE PAK AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS CONVERSATION WITH KARAMANLIS WAS RECEIVED, AND IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THEIR AMBASSADOR IN HIS TELEPHONE REPORT HAD OMITTED CERTAIN IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF HIS TALK WITH KARAMANLIS. A MOST IMPORTANT

OMISSION WAS THAT KARAMANLIS HAD INDICATED THAT HE WOULD RECEIVE BHUTTO IN ATHENS IN RESPONSE TO BHUTTO'S OWN WISH TO VISIT WITH HIM AND NOT AT HIS INVITATION. BHUTTO HAD CONCLUDED THAT THIS QUALIFICATION MIGHT UNDER UNKNOWN FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS PUT HIM IN AN AWKWARD POSITION AND HAD DECIDED NOT TO GO. THW WORD THAT HAD GONE BACK WAS THAT BHUTTO FELT THE TIME HAD PROBABLY COME WHERE LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE CONTACTS COULD NOT SUFFICE AND THAT THESE SHOULD BE REPLACED BY DIRECT PERSONAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE PARTIES INVOLVED. IN MAKING THIS TYPE OF RESPONSE IT WAS ALSO BHUTTO'S BELIEF THAT THE TURKS WERE ON THE WHOLE BEING REASONABLE AND THAT HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO PUSH THEM ANY FURTHER.

7. SHAHI SAID THE CABLED REPORT CONTAINED ANOTHER SURPRISE, WHICH WAS THAT KARAMANLIS DESIRED THAT THIS WHOLE THING BE KEPT QUITE CONFIDENTIAL BETWEEN THE THREE PARTIES CONCERNED AND THAT THERE SHOULD NEVER BE ANY KNOWLEDGE OF OTHERS ABOUT THIS WHOLE SERIES OF CONTACTS. SHAHI SAID THAT THIS HAD PUT THEM IN A MOST AWKWARD POSITION. THEY HAD UP UNTIL RECENTLY KEPT ONLY OURSELVES AND THE IRANIANS INFORMED, BUT JUST BEFORE THE MESSAGE FROM ATHENS HAD ARRIVED THEY HAD CONCLUDED IT BEST TO GIVE A BRIEFING TO A GROUP OF "ESTERN AMBASSADORS HERE. HE SAID THEY HAD DONE SO AS IT LOOKED LIKE THE MATTER WOULD PROBABLY GO TO THE UNITED NATIONS. THEY HAD FELT, THEREFORE, THAT IT WAS BETTER FOR FRIENDLY WESTERN NATIONS TO KNOW SOMETHING OF THE PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN MADE SO THAT THEY WOULD NOT UNKNOWINGLY TAKE ACTION IN THE UN WHICH WOULD UNDERCUT THE PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN MADE SO FAR. HE SAID ANY FURTHER EFFORTS THAT THE PAKS MIGHT GET INVOLVED IN WOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE TO BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL DUE TO THIS REQUEST OF KARAMANLIS (IMPLYING, I THINK, THAT WE WOULD STILL BE KEPT INFORMED BUT THAT IT WOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED ON
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 08774 140625Z

SUCH A BROAD BASIS.)

8. POSTSCRIPT: IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME, BEING UNFAMILIAR WITH PLACE NAMES, POSITIONS OF TROOPS, ETC. AS REGARDS CYPRUS TO BE CERTAIN THE POSITIONS DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2 ABOVE ARE COMPLETELY ACCURATE. IF DEPARTMENT HAS A NEED TO KNOW, I WOULD NOT BE RELUCTANT TO ASK SHAHI FOR EXACT WORKING WHERE DEPARTMENT MAY BE IN DOUBT AS TO MEANING. BYROADE

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